Unstable employment histories and continuing training

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Introduction

In the context of increased work mobility, gaining and transferring skills through training surely represents a challenge for employees. In order to avoid having to endure constant mobility and frequent periods of unemployment, workers can potentially gain access to qualifications through training designed to help pull them towards more stable and rewarding occupational paths. The acknowledgement and validation that accompany work-related skills should prevent mobility from being too penalising.

Nevertheless, access to training and practices of training of those we could call ' mobiles' in the labour market is still not well known. This is not surprising since analyses of the development of such mobility are themselves recent (Commissariat Général du Plan, 2003). A better knowledge of mobility also implies a better knowledge of the resources individuals are required to mobilise during transition periods, a fortiori when these transitions are due to unstable employment. In this context, continuing training can be considered as a tool for widening professional prospects. However, the objective of this paper is not to evaluate the impact of training on individual work histories in relation to work stability or higher wages. Although this correlation is obviously important to study, it has been repeatedly tested in the literature and, moreover, the data currently available would not allow for a sufficiently robust study (see *box 1*). We prefer to test the opposite correlation, i.e. the impact of employment instability on training practices and access to them. This approach attempts to incorporate a wide, longitudinal dimension into research on selectivity in training, while taking into account the impact of chaotic occupational paths on access to training, thereby revealing the effect of of training on work histories. Do employees experiencing unstable occupational paths receive less training? What are the respective roles of the State and employers in the funding of this type of training? Could 'lifelong learning' prevent 'mobile' employees from experiencing insecure work?

We shall proceed in two stages in order to clarify the intersection of 'instable work' and training. First, individual work histories in the labour market marked by instability will be empirically identified to facilitate examination of the 'hard core' of unstable employment, i.e. salary or wage earners marked by unstable occupational paths within their working life. Second, the impact of instability (i.e. career paths) on access to training will be tested and, finally, whether specific unstable career paths are connected with specific training practices will be determined. The data used was collected by Céreq (*French Centre for Research on Education, Training and Employment*) and Insee (*French Statistics Board*) for the "Formation continue 2000" Survey (*Continuing Training 2000*) (see box 1).

Box 1: Formation Continue 2000 survey

The 'Formation Continue 2000' survey, which completed the annual survey 'Emploi' of March 2000, was co-ordinated by Insee and Céreq.
The poll targeted a sample of individuals interviewed for the Emploi survey, likely to gain access to continuing training. Aged from 15 to 65, they had completed their initial education at least one year before and were not doing military service at the time of the survey. These individuals participated in face-to-face interviews on the training they had completed *during their working lives*, i.e. since they completed their initial education. Questions on training were retrospective with detailed information on the 14-month period preceding the survey (January 1999-March 2000). Only training periods lasting a minimum of 3 hours were taken into account, be they clearly work-related (to acquire or improve work-related skills, to get or change jobs, to get diploma or acknowledged qualifications, etc.) or more personal (leisure, cultural, etc.). The training was either mainly financed by the employer, the individual him-or herself, or the authorities. Other forms of training were surveyed besides training courses and placements: *alternance*, on-the-job trainings and self-training. Individuals were also queried about their expectations, their knowledge of their rights and in which context they started the training. For people with no training, this information allows appreciation of the restrictions on access to training.
The first results were published by the various funding authorities of the survey, including C. Fournier, M. Lambert, C. Perez, (2003).

1. Instability and training: relevance of the correlation

1.1 Instability at the heart of work mobility

It is now widely acknowledged that, since the 1980s, labour in France has become increasingly mobile, and experienced more and more frequent periods of unemployment. Thus, the risk of losing one's job was higher in the 1990s than in the 1980s, whatever the prevailing economic conditions (Maurin 2002). If the risk of unemployment is relatively higher for less qualified and/or new employees, the rise of professional instability is rampant among all employees (Givord, Maurin, 2003). Instability in work contributes significantly to mobility and unstable occupational paths. In March 2000, workers employed in such

circumstances made up more than one out of every ten employees. However, in such a context, '*the consequences of the rise in instability and mobility on the working lives of individuals remain unknown*' (Commissariat Général du Plan, op.cit., p.14).

In particular, the chances of gaining access to various types of training are most probably affected by the instability of certain work histories. The danger is that individuals will become confined to positions requiring few qualifications, with no opportunity to acquire new ones. However, the impact of work instability on training practices and access to them has only been superficially studied.

1.2. Instability and access to training

In reference to the theory of human capital, in-house training is associated with stability, since employers and employees have invested in non-adjustable training with expected returns of loyalty. Employers are therefore willing to bear the costs of training for employees they wish to keep or reward. (see Béret and Dupray, 1998, and O'Connell in the present volume). Consequently, continuing training tends to strengthen the relationship between employers and employees. In this context, it is mostly the impact of training on careers (especially those of salary earners) that has been examined (e.g. Fougère, Goux and Maurin, 1997; Goux and Maurin, 2001). Studies on the impact of *precariousness* on access to training are more rare. More precisely, does instability restrict access to training and implies certain practices, and who pays for the training?

A survey held in 1998 used English data to partly answer this question. It showed that employees with temporary or part-time contracts had less opportunity to receive training to facilitate work-related skill acquisition[1] in their current job (Arulampalam and Booth, 1998). Therefore, the probability of undergoing training was reduced by 16% for employees with short-term or temporary contracts as compared to 'permanent' employees. The study concluded by outlining the following paradox: acquiring new qualifications guarantees adjustment to company requirements, but in the United Kingdom temporary workers with flexible employment are ill-equipped to respond to this need. Because of short-term job attachment, flexible forms of employment lead to less training provisions. In the long term, they could harm overall economic performances. What can be said of French data? If our starting point is the same as the above authors, i.e. comparing the chances of flexible workers

as compared to 'permanent' workers of gaining access to training, the data collected by the survey Formation continue 2000 allows widening of the issue in two directions: 1- to consider a wider panel of training types and, 2- to appreciate in a more dynamic manner the various forms of flexible work. In other words, this research examined *all types of training within the frame of unstable occupational paths* to improve work-related skills or other (educational attainment, changing jobs, etc.).

These perspectives are partly built and determined by the existing institutional schemes that give workers rights to continuing training and learning according to their status. In France, according to the rights of workers to receive continuing training, all employees regardless of their employment status are entitled to the same provisions. Thus company *training schemes* designed to improve work-related skills cover all trainings for *all* employees, regardless of their status. Similarly, the right to individual training leave benefits is open to all employees (see box 2)[2] with necessary adjustments to the specific conditions of 'flexible' jobs[3]. Thus, formally speaking, temporary workers have the same rights to training to adapt to a current job or acquire qualification as their counterparts with permanent employment. However, common practice shows inequalities in terms of access, to the detriment of flexible workers. These inequalities will be defined in regards to the working environment and the personal resources of the individuals, but what is meant by 'unstable workers' will first be discussed.

Box 2: Regulations and conventions on vocational training and learning

The 16th of July 1971 Act established the French continuing training system. According to this law, companies with 10 employees or more have to devote part of their wage bill to the training of their employees. Since 1992 this has amounted to 1,5 % of the wage bill breaking down into three distinct posts: alternance training contracts (sandwich courses), training schemes (*plan de formation),* and individual training leaves (*congé individuel de formation)*.

Individual training leaves are employee self-directed. They provide employees with opportunities to change professions, work, and also to gain access to a higher level of education. Collection bodies with levies on companies with at least 10 employees (including 1% of salaries paid to fixed-term employees during the year), the State, and regional authorities fund the system.

The inter-professional national agreement signed in September 2003, followed by the 4th of May 2004 Act, brought substantial modifications to this frame. Firstly, minimal levies for companies with 10 employees or more have been increased to 1.6% and, since January 2005, smaller companies are subjected to a 0.55% of wage bill levy. Most of all, the agreement states the right to individual training and learning (DIF). This right is in the form of a credit of 20 hours of training per year over a period of six years, which can be used for off-the-job training with the agreement of the employer. This right (with the employer's agreement!) is opened to all permanent workers with at least one year of seniority. For part-time workers, the number of hours is calculated pro rata temporis and, similarly, employees with fixed-term contracts are granted this after a period of four months.

2. A dynamic approach to instability

2.1 Justification of the approach to study training

Due to the fact that instability is a multidimensional phenomenon, its definition cannot be univocal and its assessment gives rise to theoretical and methodological difficulties (see Barbier 2002, Paugam, 2003). If all forms of employment besides permanent employment can be qualified as 'unstable', then the spread of instability has been manifest since the 1990s. Employment said to be stable (permanent employment contracts) still accounted for 69.1% of the total population in 2000 but this has slowly been eaten away by other forms of employment (fixed-term contracts, temping, government-sponsored programs) which doubled between 1992 and 2000. When comparing the status of employment in March 2000 with access to training, we can observe that unstable workers have less access to training than their counterparts with permanent employment, with differences varying according to the nature of the contracts: 25% of workers with fixed-term contracts and 27% of temp workers reported that they had undergone training between January 1999 and March 2000, as compared to 32% of permanent employees. Therefore, at first sight, those more exposed to induced mobility also do less training.

However, this static approach to instability is simplistic in a number of ways. First, the status at the time of the survey was not necessarily the same as on the day before the training started. This is even more the case for samples with irregular work histories[4]. Second, unstable employment episodes are by definition punctual and do not similarly structure occupational paths. Such an episode will not bear the same significance whether it is part of a professional integration process or inscribed in a history of recurrent instability. Finally, individuals with temporary jobs also go through unemployment or idle periods (Pignoni and Poujouly, 1999; Lolliver, 2000).

Thus, the approach selected for this analysis consisted of conceptualising instability in a dynamic rather than a static manner for the whole population (working and non-working) rather than a sub-sample of employees. Starting from 'instability of employment' at a given date, the occupational path (i.e. a sequence of jobs) more or less characterised by 'instability of employment' can be compared to training.

Box 3: A methodological approach to identify and analyse 'unstable' work histories (Perez, Thomas, 2002)

In the Emploi survey of March 2000, occupants of a same household were interviewed in March in three consecutive years. The questionnaire was also designed to query individuals on their situation a year before the start of the survey. Therefore we have available panel data for March 2000, January 1999, March 1998 and March 1997 (retrospective information collected in March 1998) from a sample of 20 339 individuals[5]. We chose to consider these four dates and analyse them as segments of occupational paths. Our main approach was to consider the situation in March 2000 in light of work histories. In order to describe the situations defining and structuring segments of occupational paths, we set up a variable of employment position detailed as employment status. Thus, we distinguished between three situations corresponding to 'special' forms of employment within the private sector: fixed-term contracts, temping and part-time and permanent employment. We characterise for the latter induced and intentional part-time employment (when the concerned individuals confirm they do not wish to work more hours). Government-sponsored jobs and training as well as unemployment are subject to distinct and special conditions. Finally, in the public sector, we differentiate temporary workers (fixed-term, part-time and casual workers) from 'stable' employees (civil servants and permanent contract workers). To ease the reading of occupational paths we put together the non-working population 'close to the labour market' (students, housewives and other non-working individuals) with those at the farthest end (pensioners).

Two methods of analysis have been used to reveal typical occupational paths. Factor analyses helped to measure proximity between individuals, and variables being exclusively the employment position on the four dates. Cluster analysis with the original variables was then used to determine a typology of paths. Measuring proximity between individuals was accomplished by organising similar individuals into groups to characterise typical work histories. Thus, we can distinguish several profiles of 'instability', situated in a continuum between employment and unemployment.

Then, we used two types of model. First, a LOGIT model with the participation in training as a dependent variable, employment history as a variable of interest and a set of control variables taking into account personals resources available to an individual and his/her working environment. Second, a multinomial logit model was built with four alternatives, access to training and training according to length of training. We have thus considered that duration (short, medium, long) could be assimilated to a discrete choice between several alternatives.

The survey was first held for the whole population group aged between 15 and 65. However, with such a general approach, no hypothesis a priori on proximity of situations, especially unemployment and temporary work sequences in work histories can be put forward. We therefore proceeded to build up our sample by first eliminating occupational paths defined as the furthest from instability (free-lancers, civil servants and pensioners) and by concentrating on working individuals in the midst of working life, i.e. with between 5 and 36 years of experience in the labour market. Therefore, recourse to training during phases of professional integration and withdrawal from the labour market has not been studied.

2.2 Coexisting of 'stable' work histories with periods of instability[6]

Work histories list positions in the labour market every year between March 1997 and March 2000. For working individuals, status (fixed-term contract, temping, government-sponsored jobs) and temporality (induced part-time work) (see box 3) are specified. Analysis of the histories reveals three main results.

First, *a strong inertia is evident in the histories*: two thirds of individuals remained in the same situation for four years. This relative stability is however subtler than it looks because if

80% of 'free-lancers' remained in the same situation for four years, 90% of employees with 'specific' forms of contracts (fixed-term, temping, government-sponsored jobs) had changed at least once between 1997 and 2000.

Second, our analysis highlights four types of *stable personal histories*, accounting for 42% of the population with the prevailing situations: 'free-lancers', 'civil servants', 'housewives' and 'pensioners'. These situations seem very 'absorbing', meaning very few shifts to other situations were recorded. All the same, when permanent employment prevailed (26% of the sample), histories were stable but usually at a later stage because of relatively numerous transitions to other situations.

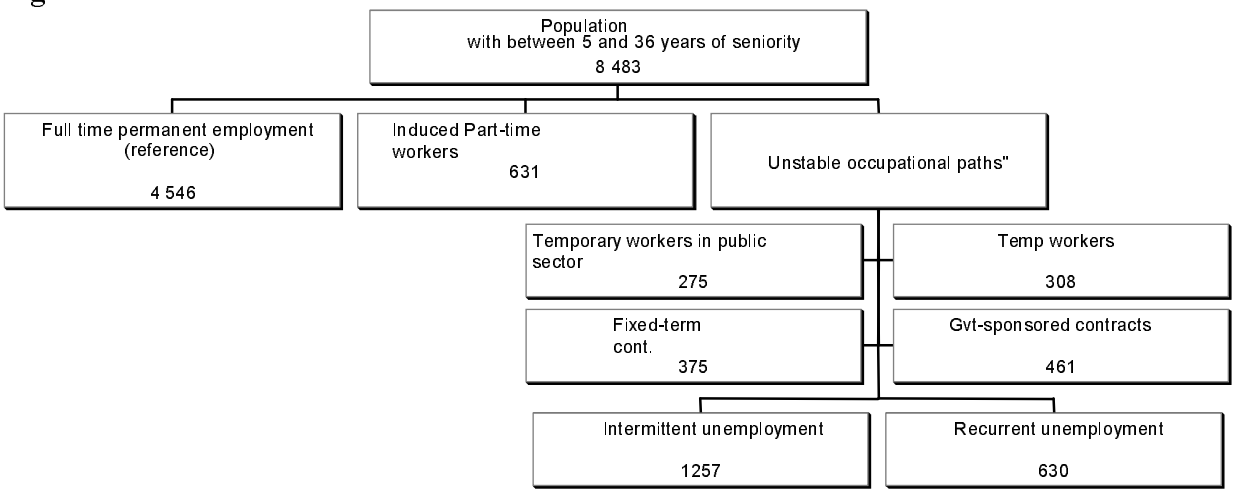
Finally, the factor analysis sets apart these 'stable' histories from various unstable states among other unemployment (25%). These states cover varied flexible work statuses (fixed-term contracts, temping, government-sponsored jobs) but there are fewer shifts between these work statuses than between them and unemployment. Indeed, if transitions between unemployment and "government-sponsored contracts or training" and between temporary work and unemployment are common, very few transitions were registered between temping and government-sponsored contracts. Moreover, the factor analyses helps distinguish unstable occupational paths from full-time permanent employment on one side and part-time permanent employment on the other side (7%). The latter not being considered unstable, even though this is often the case. This result is in no way modified by the intentional or non voluntary aspect of part-time work. This gives rise to a first insight into the structuring of the labour market: it reflects a form of 'dualisation of mobility' that contrasts the highest qualified workers in stable jobs with workers in unstable jobs and with induced mobility.

2.3. The emergence of different unstable profiles

An in-depth analysis with classification techniques helped identify seven profiles of 'unstable' histories with the addition of induced part-time permanent employment. The group dominated by permanent full-time employment (or 'stable') acts as a reference group for comparing unstable occupational paths and induced part-time permanent employment. Individuals recorded with the last two types of histories are defined as 'unstable'[7]. In total, 8 groups were kept for the survey (see figure 1). We shall qualify them by the main characteristic in their

histories, which usually correspond to the prevailing situation at the time of the study (1997-2000).

Figure 1:



Some insights about those different groups are necessary before going into their training behaviours in the next section (see table 1).

Even if built on a variable of work position (and for employment, the status), these histories cannot be reduced to the sole work positions because it is the sequences of situations that define 'unstable' occupational paths as opposed to 'stable' ones. Taking into account the dynamic feature of "precariousness" implies a broader estimate of the phenomena than a static measure. Indeed, in March 2000, 9.4 % of workers were employed under temporary contracts (fixed term contracts, temp jobs and government sponsored programs) and the unemployment rate was at 10% of the labour force. The dynamic approach leads to a more realistic view of instability, which impacts on a large part of the core of the labour force (around 45% of our population of interest).

Table 1

	Main feature	Typical path*	Profile of workers**	Size of the sub-sample
'Induced part-time permanent workers' (IPT)	Induced part-time work at least at one of the four dates	Induced part-time and permanent work for the four consecutive years	Female, mothers with little education	*(7,5 % of the population 5-36 y. and 631 observations)*
'Temporary workers in public sector'	Temporary workers in the public sector	'contract workers' in the public sector for four consecutive years	Female, high qualification	*(3 % of the population 5-36 y. and 275 observations)*
'Temp workers'	Temping for several consecutive years or at the beginning of the period	Temp work followed by full-time and permanent job	young male with little qualification	*(4 % of the population 5-36 y. and 308 observations)*
'Fixed-term contract workers' (FTC)	Fixed-term contracts (FTC) between March 1997 and March 2000 but with frequent transition periods	'FTC-FTC-Permanent-Permanent', 'unemployment-FTC-FTC-Permanent'	Female, low skills	*(4,5 % of the population 5-36 y. and 375 observations)*
'Government-sponsored contracts and training' (GSC)	Concomitant presence of unemployment and GSC	half of the individuals experienced exclusively unemployment or GSC	Female, no qualification	*(5,5 % of the population 5-36 y. and 461 observations)*
'Intermittent unemployment'	Heterogeneous	'Permanent-unemp.-unemp.-temp work' 'unemp.-unemp.-FTC-FTC'	Female, low skills	*(15% of the population 5-36 y. and 1257 observations)*
'Recurrent unemployment'	Histories marked by unemployment, at a higher rate than in the other unstable groups	unemployment at all four dates, with essentially transitions to withdrawal from the labour market	Women & foreign residents, over-represented. No qualifications.	*7,5% of the population 5-36 y. and 630 observations*
'Full time permanent workers in the private sector'		99% of individuals were in the same situation at the four dates	Male, living in couples, children	*53,5 % of the population 5-36 y. and 4546 observations*

* Globally, these histories were rather ascending since unemployment and inactivity tended to decrease between 1997 and 2000 ; but it is probably a reflection of better prevailing economic conditions especially since 1997, and not a structural upward trend towards stable employment.
** For details, see appendix.

These groups of paths will thus be connected to continuing training in order to find differentiated accesses and practices between unstable workers groups and then between them and others.

3. Varied training practices according to employment histories

The nexus of training will now be analysed through three main lenses: level of access, intensity of, recourse (i.e. duration) and the content and conditions of training.

3.1 Training offers fewer prospects to 'unstable' than to 'stable' workers

3.1.1. Experiencing unstable employment generally penalises access to training ceteris paribus...

Besides *employment history*, our variables of interest, *personal resources* available to an individual and the *working environment* of that same individual, influence his or her desire to learn, ask for training, and ability to effectively capitalise on new skills. For personal resources, socio-demographics (age, qualification, sex, nationality and place of residence) were introduced as control variables. Training carries direct and indirect costs that not all individuals can afford. We assume that training is made easier for individuals living in couples, because they have more means to bear the financial and organisational costs of training. Children are also supposed to influence access to training, albeit differently according to the sex of the parent. From the *working environment* point of view (i.e. job requirements), the company size, its field of activity and its socio-professional category constitute factors influencing training practices and access to them.

As a whole, unstable employment histories penalise participation in training when compared to stable employment histories: rates of access to training for the March 1998-February 2000 period were of 36% for the 'unstable' group and 46.5% for the 'stable' group. This result was confirmed by estimates of probabilities of access to training, within similar conditions, i.e. the influence of both personal resources and working environment being controlled for (see table 2 – binomial logit). Belonging to one group of work histories always influenced access to training, even for the most complete models (see model 1 and 2). As for the 'permanent' group, those marked with government-sponsored contracts and training had a significantly higher probability of access. Thus, temporary work in the public sector guarantees *ceteris paribus* the same chances of access to training as stable employment in the private sector while other forms of unstable employment impact negatively onise access to training.

'FTC' and unemployment dominated work histories are particularly penalising in regards to training. As for personal resources, qualifications are the personal characteristic with the most

influence on training, with a negative impact for qualifications lower than the baccalaureate. We also notice that French nationality significantly increases the probability of gaining access to training within similar conditions. Finally, if living in couple does not increase training probabilities, having a child does decrease the probability of undergoing training for women.

Introducing variables characterising working environment limits the impact of belonging to a group of work histories on the probability of gaining access to training, especially for temp work histories which now mimic more stable employment. Company size is also influential since probability of access is higher in a big company than in a small one (less than 10 employees) for similar work histories. Similarly, certain sectors of activity favour training: civil service, banks, insurances and other financial sectors train more people whatever the form of employment. Only the 'human service' sector has less chances of gaining access to training compared to 'other industries' used as a reference.

All forms of training do not lead to similar career prospects ; so, we investigated the influence of work history on access to short or long term training.

3.1.2. Do wider prospects make up for inequalities in access?

The duration of training can be considered as a proxy of the transferability of training and *in fine* of the prospects offered. Generally speaking, longer training periods will usually be more *general* and more easily transferred, thus opening up more prospects for mobility than more *specific*, shorter trainings intended to adapt workers to a specific post. On that basis, what are the training opportunities offered to 'unstable' workers compared to 'stable' workers?

Unstable workers follow longer trainings than stable workers, with an average duration of 40 hours for the former and only 24 hours for the latter. Training duration (short and long) referring to distinct prospects, a polytomous logistic model was implemented . In the event of no training, it estimates the probability of training for short, medium or long periods of time according to work histories, while controlling the impact of personal resources and working environments.

The first result confirms the impact of work history on the probability of doing short (less that 5 days), medium (between 5 days and one month), or long (over a month) trainings

ceteris paribus (see table 3 – multinomial logit). But this impact is moderated in greater proportion than for access to training by the working environment and personal resources. Besides the usual impact of the level of qualification whatever the length of the training (to hold a Cap-Bep - ISCED 3C- certificate or less reduces the chances of gaining access to short or long-term training, *ceteris paribus*), being a woman with a child also negatively influences the probability of undergoing long training compared to not training at all. As for the working environment, certain sectors seem to favour short trainings (civil service, financial, real estate or transport activities) while others "minimise" the chances of doing long trainings (service companies, construction companies and shops).

Work histories dominated by stable work are associated with short training periods. Only 'Temporary workers in the public sector' have the same probability as the 'permanent' to train less than 5 days. All other groups have a higher probability of not following any training at all than of being trained for that period of time. Symmetrically, long training periods are associated with unemployment-dominated work histories. Thus 'Permanent' workers have the lowest probability of training for more than a month, whereas the probability of the 'GSC' training for more than a month is clearly higher, even if compared to other unstable groups. The likelihood of doing such training also appears higher for those with 'unemployment' and 'intermittent unemployment' work histories. The specificity of 'temporary workers in the public sector' stands out: not only do they have the same access to short term trainings as 'permanent' workers, but they are also more likely than the former go through long training.

Thus, generally speaking, 'unstable' workers train longer than 'stable' workers. This result could lead us to conclude that training offers real opportunities to unstable workers lucky enough to access it. However, work histories that are the farthest to employment are associated with the longest training periods whereas work histories dominated by flexible employment (FTC, temping, IPT) combine h low participation with medium length training – close to the 'stable' workers' training length.

For the former, long term training covers all training granted to the unemployed, financed by the State, the public service employment or by local authorities. It embodies the effort made by the State towards the unemployed. For the latter - people with flexible employment history- the first comment would be that the closer they are to the primary job market, the shorter the trainings they receive. Training is thus a means for companies to adapt selected

employees' skills to its inner market. The second comment stresses the fact that short trainings do not give qualifications and thus hold hardly any career prospects for poorly qualified workers. As noted previously P. Santelmann *'the least qualified'* are also those most concerned by unstable employment in the midst of working life, *'has to wait to be unemployed to benefit from sizeable training efforts'* (2000, p.3).

Besides access and duration, conditions of organisation (costs, initiative) and expectations also make up other distinctive elements of the behaviour of the 'unstable' and 'stable' workers. Several elements reflect 'unstable workers' strong commitment to training : they initiate and bear the costs of their training more often than their 'stable' counterparts (see table 4). Moreover, the 'unstable' workers admitted more often than the 'stable' ones (24% against 14%) that they had to reorganise their personal life to undergo training. Family requirements (childcare, house chores) at the base of this reorganisation often penalise female factory workers or employees, who usually have the most unstable work histories (Fournier, 2001).

The following section will attempt to characterise the differences in training practices of solely 'unstable' workers. The differences observed are to be compared with the characteristics of the individuals concerned, and the histories they experienced.

3.2. Different relations to training correspond different profiles of unstable employment

3.2.1. Recurrent unemployment histories: less access, more wait ...and disillusion

Individuals with such work histories have the lowest participation rate in training programs. When they do train, they expect to find employment first (see table 4). Nearly 24% mention other more personal motives revealing professional concerns: 'learning new software', 'skill upgrading, 'literacy', 'management', and 'self-training in computers'. The efforts made by the trainees are higher than for others: in most cases they bear the costs of their training courses themselves and reported that they took the initiative in one case out of two.

The individuals classified in the 'recurrent unemployment' category also experience disillusion associated with failure to achieve personal objectives more often than other groups: one third said they did not reach their target. It is congruent with the outcomes of

evaluations of employment and training programmes (Perez, 2001). Little access to training should not be interpreted as a lack of appetence ; indeed, the desire to undergo training assumes that this investment will provide better work conditions or career prospects (Lambert, Perez, Zamora, 2002).

3.2.2. Induced part-time permanent employment: individuals rather far from training

After the 'unemployed' group, 'IPT' workers are the worst off regarding training. When they do train, the duration of programs is also usually shorter than for the 'unstable' groups. In most cases, training aims at improving skills for the current job, but training with more 'personal' targets is more common as well. Even though training is essentially work-related, respondents said more often they had to bear the training costs. Besides, they admit more often than other groups they had to reorganise their personal lives to do training (26%). These statements are in line with the specificities of the individuals concerned: induced part time work affects mostly single women with children (Galtier, 1999).

3.2.3. 'FTCs': a weak participation to training dedicated mostly to improving skills for current job

The rate of participation in 'FTCs' is relatively low compared to the whole 'unstable' group (see table 4). The distribution of training courses according to their characteristics reveals similarities to IPTs training practices : the main expectation expressed was adaptation to current job and employers usually bear the costs and initiate training. However, a series of successive FTCs reveals another logic different from the induced part-time histories where job attachment is short. We can suppose that since their qualifications are in most cases low, in the tertiary sector, some of them are mobile because of their standardised and easily transferable skills. In other words, this mobility could be linked to the 'market flexibility' identified by J.L. Beffa, R. Boyer and J.P. Touffut (1999, p.1044), i.e., '*an employment relationship articulated on external mobility and market salaries [...] concerning distribution, retailing, catering and hotels*'. In this context, formal training financed by the employer would play a minor role. Acting often as a 'probation period'[8], time spent working with a FTC is devoted more to showing one's skills and proving the quality of the 'match' than to training.

3.2.4. Temp work histories: training aimed at adapting to a job

Training of temp workers appears at stake for temp employment agencies who display more and more training into their labour management practices. The social image carried by training in a sector specialising in unstable workers is a factor that should not be neglected. One third of people with temp work histories completed some form of training between March 1998 and March 2000. One quarter of trainees expect to find or change jobs, and the most frequent aim was still to improve skills for the current job. The employer bears the costs of most training and often initiates it too. One important characteristic relates to training conditions: in one third of cases training is done on the job. The relationship of temp workers to training closely depends on the meaning they give to and the manner in which they use temp work. Thus, C. Faure-Guichard reveals three forms of temp work histories (1999). *Integration temp work* for school-leavers who have not yet experienced stable employment. In this situation '*temping acts as a first step towards stabilisation in work'* for young people with no working experience and training is most probably of an informal nature (p.7). In contrast, *transition temping* concerns workers with stable working experience temporarily facing temp work situations. They 'show *real will to think out their professional future, especially regarding training'* (p.10). Finally, workers involved in *professional temping* are more likely to know their rights for training and thus to build a relationship with Temp agencies : '*training is granted to loyal workers to enhance their employability – which is an asset for them [...] and for the temp employment agencies that sometimes find it difficult to find staff with specific qualifications [...]'* (p.16). But, in most cases, training answers needs for operational adjustment to a given mission.

3.2.5. Intermittent unemployment histories: improving skills for a current job

The training practices of these workers are close to those of the average 'unstable worker'. This is probably due to the fact that their work histories are made up of a mix of unemployment and 'flexible' work. The most frequently reported expectation is the acquisition of work-related skills (57%) then finding work (22%). Given the heterogeneous nature of work histories, it is difficult to tell something concrete about the uses of training. Indeed, three types of histories coexist within the group (Pignoni and Poujouly, 1999): quick integration where unemployment is 'accidental' in a previous employment history, highly 'active' histories with frequent shifts between unemployment and 'atypical' employment and,

finally, 'drag' histories where unstable work follows unemployment in histories dominated by unemployment and instability. In the segments identified by our study, we note that unemployment periods give rise to longer training whereas training during working periods is usually devoted to improving skills for the current job.

3.2.6. GSC histories: high access to training at the crossroad of many logics

This group includes *paid* trainees and those with contracts supported by employment policies. Government sponsored contracts do not have a systematic understanding of formal training courses. The lack of training is the second most frequent complaint for *Contrat Emploi Solidarité* beneficiaries after salaries (Simonin, 2002). Access rates to training for these individuals are rather high and close to those of permanent employees in the private sector. Moreover training periods are significantly longer. Among those who had completed their training at the time of the survey, 51% said they had fully reached their objectives. Training when supported by the will to get work or qualifications opens career prospects while favouring sustainable employment without support from authorities (Defosseux, 2003). Here, training stands at a crossroad of three logics: the logic of the institution advising and selecting beneficiaries, the logic of employers doing a second 'screening' of recipients with sponsored contracts in the business sector, and finally and perhaps residually, the logic of beneficiaries themselves with their own resources and constraints.

3.2.7. Temporary workers in the Public sector : high access to more intensive trainings

Temporary workers in the Public sector are associated with rather high participation in training programs: 52% for the last two years. Training courses are also more intensive. Thus, even if they are not civil servants, temporary workers have more similar training behaviours to the former than to their counterparts in the private sector. The results here meet those of a former study which indicated that civil service is a highly favourable environment for training as compared to the private sector (Perez, 2003). If most recipients are looking to improve their skills for the current job, getting a diploma or acknowledged qualification is also high on the list (17%). This is because of the organisation of mobility in the public sector based on examinations or competitive exams. Finally, this reveals their particular position within the

'unstable' workers' group. Their training practices reflect relative professional security and a propitious working environment.

Conclusion

While 'lifelong training' is presented as 'an essential policy to protect employees in case of unemployment or fundamental changes in their working conditions' (European Commission 2004, p.31), 'unstable' workers have fewer opportunities than 'stable' employees to undergo training. They also face inequalities regarding career prospects as reflected by the variable intensity and content of training programs. These inequalities are not visible when we observe the average length of training for all 'unstable' workers since they are longer as a whole than for 'stable' employees. Long-term training courses (to change jobs, learn new jobs) are associated with unemployment and mainly financed by the State whereas flexible employment usually leads to short training courses aimed at acquiring skills for a current job. Thus, unstable workers have fewer opportunities to complete training courses financed by the employer compared to their 'stable' counterparts and of following a course financed by the State to get qualification.

This result reflects the crumbling of the rights-protection coupling since the 1980s: this coupling had long been secured by a status ' that largely evaded the ups and downs of the market and technology changes and which made up the stable basis of employment' (Castel, 2003, p.81). However, the fragmentation of work has led to an increasing number of employees with 'super mobile work status' and no higher protection to go with it. In France, for several years a number of studies has tried to draft a 'right to professional continuity beyond the uncertainties of employment'. Transitional market theory can provide a useful and accurate analytical framework to think about institutional arrangements that would allow flexible workers to be protected from precariousness. Under this condition, continuing training could act as a guarantee of 'secure' individual work histories throughout professional life. The crucial question is: who will finance training for unstable workers? In France, no clear proposal has been brought forward in the recent inter-professional national agreement (ANI) regarding continued access to training over the course of working lives. More comparative research about Lifelong Learning systems and education and training transitions are necessary in order to achieve a better understanding of the way to manage social risks.

Notes

[1] The authors specified focused on work-related training to improve or increase skills in the current job, excluding induction training, training for future work or for skills generally.

[2] We shall add that a huge majority of trainings come under the company's training scheme (formally employer-directed). Only 35 000 requests for the Individual training leave were accepted in 2002, 20% being for fixed-term or temporary work contract workers.

[3] For instance, in regards to information employers must hand out a training registration form, including information on the Individual training leave, to any new fixed-term contract worker along with his or her contract

[4] 95% of employees with permanent employment at the time of the survey had the same status the day before the training as compared to only 76% of the unemployed and 47% of fixed-term contract or temp workers.

[5] The sample in the survey Formation continue 2000, which completed the annual survey 'Emploi' of March 2000, amounted to 28667 persons, confined to those who had answered all three questions, leading to the loss of the most flexible individuals. This resulted in a slight underestimation of the place held by 'unstable' workers in the analysis of the various histories. To be sure there was no bias, we tested access to training for the individuals screened out and they were not found to be different from the sample. Differences were even more minimal for individuals with between 5 and 36 years of working experience.

[6] The methodological work was done with Gwenaëlle Thomas (Céreq).

[7] Studies on the concerned individuals prove that 'CDI-induced TP' should be considered unstable (see Galtier, 1999).

[8] Workers whose fixed-time contracts have expired dominate the ranks of the unemployed: the end of a fixed-time contract is the first motivation to look for jobs. However these cases have little representation in the group and mostly join the 'intermittent' unemployed.

Table 2 : Likelihood to access to training (since March 1998)

	Effect on likelihood to have done training at least once since March 1998 *(logit model 1)*	**Effect on likelihood to have done training at least once since March 1998** *(logit model 2)*
Constant	0.28 (0.20)	-0.42 (0.23)*
Group		
1-Permanent	Ref.	Ref.
2- Temporary in Public sector	0.08 (0.13)	0.0005 (0.14)
3-GSC	0.29 (0.10)***	0.37 (0.11)**
4-Intermittent unemployment	-0.23 (0.7)***	-0.08 (0.08)**
5-Unemployment	-0.89 (0.10)***	-0.66 (0.12)***
6-Induced PT	-0.56 (0.09)***	-0.36 (0.10)***
7-FTC	-0.78 (0.12)***	-0.64 (0.13)***
8-Temp workers	-0.32 (0.12)**	-0.20 (0.13)
French nationality	0.50 (0.11)***	0.30 (0.11)**
Age	0.0005 (0.003)	-0.01 (0.003)***
Highest education level		
Lic + (bachelor or more)	Ref.	Ref.
Bac+2	-0.04 (0.11)	-0.001 (0.12)
Baccalaureate	-0.37 (0.10)***	-0.17 (0.12)
CapBep(vocational certificates)	-1.01 (0.09)***	-0.57 (0.11)***
Bepc (junior high school)or no diploma	-1.39 (0.095)***	-0.93 (0.11)***
Couple	-0.05 (0.06)	-0.03 (0.06)
Place de residence		
Ile de France	0.005 (0.06)	-0.17 (0.06)**
Sex*child		
Fe*child<18	-0.19 (0.07)***	-0.20 (0.07)***
Fe no child	ref.	ref.
Male*child<18	0.02 (0.07)	0.14 (0.08)*
Male no child	-0.03 (0.07)	0.06 (0.07)
Fields of activity		
Agriculture & food industry		-0.04 (0.12)
Other industries (inc. energy)		Ref.
Intermediate goods		0.006 (0.10)
Building and construction		-0.18 (0.12)
Commerce		-0.05 (0.09)
Transport		0.09 (0.12)
Real estate and finance		0.40 (0.13)***
Service to companies		-0.04 (0.11)
Services to persons		-0.23 (0.13)*
Education, health		0.05 (0.11)
Civil service		0.59 (0.14)***
Company size		
<10 employees		Ref.
10-49 employees		0.32 (0.08)***
50-499 employees		0.65 (0.08)***
>500 employees		0.98 (0.08)***
SPG		
Executive		0.88 (0.11)***
Middle range professions		0.81 (0.08)***
Employee		0.51 (0.08)***
Labourer		Ref.
Situation in 98		
No employment		0.76 (0.12)***

Reading : (.) standard deviation ; *** relevant at 1%, ** at 5%, * at 10%.
Source : Céreq-Insee. FC 2000 Survey.

Table 3 : To attend short or long training as compared to the 'no training' alternative (Logit multinomial model)[1]

	Likelihood to do short training // not to train	Likelihood to medium length training // not to train	Likelihood to do long training // not to train
Constant	-1.18 (0.29)***	-2.34 (0.35)***	-1.60 (0.42)***
Group			
1-Permanent	Ref.	Ref	Ref.
2-Temporary in Public sector	-0.37 (0.17)**	0.10 (0.20)	0.82 (0.24)***
3-GSC	-0.74 (0.19)***	0.26 (018)	1.87 (0.17)***
4-Intermittent unemployment	-0.39 (0.10)***	0.06 (0.11)	0.87 (0.14)***
5-Unemployment	-1.55 (0.24)***	-0.51 (0.20)**	0.54 (0.19)***
6-Induced PT	-0.57 (0.13)***	-0.26 (0.16)	0.46 (0.21)**
7-FTC	-0.86 (0.16)***	-0.55 (0.20)*	0.20 (0.24)
8-Temp workers	-0.50 (0.18)***	0.12 (0.18)	0.47 (0.24)*
French nationality	0.35 (0.16)**	0.53 (0.19)***	-0.0009 (0.18)
Age	-0.008 (0.004)**	0.00 (0.09)	-0.02 (0.005)***
Highest education level			
Lic + (bachelor or more)	Ref.	Ref	Ref.
Bac+2	-0.03 (0.14)	0.17 (0.16)	-0.18 (0.20)
Baccalaureate	-0.17 –0.14)	-0.03 (0.16)	-0.37 (0.20)*
CapBep(vocational certificates)	-0.63 (0.13)***	-0.35 (0.15)**	-0.77 (0.19)***
Bepc or no diploma	-0.99 (0.14)***	-0.79 (0.16)***	-1.03 (0.19)***
Couple	0.05 (0.08)	0.57 (0.09)	-0.16 (0.11)
Place of residence			
Ile de France	-0.32 (0.08)***	-0.07 (0.09)	-0.017 (0.12)
Sex*child			
Fe*child<18	-0.15 (0.09)	-0.22 (0.11)*	-0.32 (0.13)**
Fe no child	Ref.	Ref	Ref.
Male*child<18	0.08 (0.09)	0.22 (0.12)**	0.06 (0.14)
Male no child	-0.0003 (0.09)	0.13 (0.11)	0.29 (0.13)
Fields of activity			
Agriculture & food industry	0.03 (0.15)	-0.12 (0.20)	-0.15 (0.27)
Other industries (inc. energy)	Ref.	Ref	Ref.
Intermediate goods	-0.01 (0.12)	0.15 (0.14)	-0.29 (0.23)
Building and construction	-0.05 (0.15)	-0.14 (0.18)	-0.69 (0.32)**
Commerce	0.09 (0.11)	-0.11 (014)	-0.46 (0.21)**
Transport	0.29 (0.14)**	-0.03 (0.18)	-0.35 (0.29)
Real estate and finance	0.59 (0.15)***	0.20 (0.19)	0.12 (0.26)
Service to companies	0.07 (0.13)	0.02 (0.15)	-0.64 (0.24)***
Services to persons	-0.26 (0.17)	-0.18 (0.2)	-0.51 (0.27)*
Education, health	0.18 (0.13)	0.08 (0.16)	-0.36 (0.22)
Civil service	0.77 (0.16)***	0.49 (0.19)**	0.11 (0.25)
Company size			
<10 employees	Ref.	Ref	Ref.
10-49 employees	0.33 (0.10)***	0.33 (0.13)**	0.27 (0.19)
50-499 employees	0.64 (0.10)***	0.35 (0.12)***	0.64 (0.18)***

[1] Reading: (.) standard deviation; *** relevant at 1%, ** at 5%, * at 10%.
Source: Céreq-Insee. FC 2000 Survey.
Multinomial models need to fulfill the hypothesis of independance of irrelevant alternatives. However, il this hypothesis in not fulfill, Mc Fadden (1999) states that multinomial models produce vialable estimates concerning choice conditions between different alternatives.

>500 employees	1.0 (0.09)***	0.96 (0.11)***	0.88 (0.17)***
SPG			
Executives	0.81 (0.13)***	1.05 (0.15)***	0.40 (0.24)*
Middle range professions	0.73 (0.09)***	0.99 (0.11)***	0.59 (0.17)***
Employees	0.54 (0.09)***	0.42 (0.12)***	0.49 (0.16)***
Labourer	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Situation in 98			
No employment	0.28 (0.18)	0.59 (0.19)***	0.98 (0.24)***

Table 4 : Training of unstable workers (in %)

	"Permanent"	"Unstable workers"	Tempor in Public sect	GSC	Intermittent unemp.	Rrecuurent unempl.	IPT	FTC	Temping
Access rate (1998-2000)	46.5	36	52	49	41	23	28	28.5	34.5
Duration (in h.)									
Mode	8	8	24	600	8	600	8	16	39
Median	24	40	39	200	39	150	32	32	39
1st quartile	8	16	16	40	16	40	8	16	16
3rd quartile	39	300	39	600	150	450	112	117	117
Average frequency of training*	2.2	1.8	2.3	1.5	2	1.4	1.8	1.7	1.5
Expectation									
Work-related									
Skills	83	51	59	30	57	23	66	65	58
New job	3	24	*12*	40	22	42	13	*13*	25
Diploma	5	11	17	16	8	*11*	*4*	*13*	*13*
Other	9	14	*12*	14	13	24	17	9	*4*
Funding source									
Employer	87	44	56	23	47	*14*	53	60	69
Worker	5.5	16	*15*	11	17	28	17.5	*13*	*11*
State, Anpe	-	21.5	*14*	36	21	35	*11*	*15*	*11*
Other (local authorities, regional, city, etc.)	7.5	18.5	*15*	30	15	23	18.5	*12*	*9*
Initiative									
Employer	52	27	31	20	26	*6*	33	34	45
Worker	19	44	43	40	42	55	37	37	27
Joint-initiative	26	14	*20*	*13*	15	*2*	*15*	*16*	*13*
Other (Anpe,etc.)	3	15	*6*	27	10	37	15	*13*	*15*
Reorganised personal life									
Yes	14	24	21	26	24	30	26	21	13
No	86	76	79	74	76	70	74	79	87
Reached objective									
Yes, fully	75	62	64	51	65	40	66	66	73
Yes, partly	22	27	30	30	25	*27*	28	*26*	*19*
No	3	11	*6*	*19*	10	33	*6*	*8*	*8*

*for those who attended training at least once since 1998.

Source : Céreq-Insee. FC 2000 Survey.

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Appendix

Table 1 : Characteristics of unstable workers (in %)

	"Permanent" (stables)	**"unstable workers"**	Temporary workers in Public sector	GSC*	Intermittent unemployme	Recurrent unemployme	IPT*	FTC*	Temping
Female	32	60	73	64	54	56	85	50	31
Age									
15-20	1	2	*1*	5	2	*2*	*1*	*3*	*2.5*
25-30	21	32	35	39	29	27	25	40	46
35-40	42	40	42.5	37	40	41	43	34	35
45-50	35	25	19	19	27	28	30	22	16.5
55+	1	1	*2.5*	-	2	*2*	*1*	*1*	-
Highest education level									
Lic + (bachelor or more)	7.5	8	21.5	5	9.5	5	*4*	*8*	*1*
Bac+2	11	9	13	6	13	6	7	11	*6*
Baccalaureate	13.5	12	13.5	14	14	11.5	10	12	10.5
CapBep(vocational certificates)	39	32	29.5	29	31	30.5	35	32.5	42
Bepc (junior high school)or no diploma	29	39	22,5	46	32,5	47	44	36,5	40,5
Foreign nationality	4	7	*5*	*5*	6	10	8	9	9
Live in Ile de France (Paris)	18	15	18	6	19	15	12	14	11
Live in couple	81	71	75	55	76	61	79	74	69
Have children	58	58	60	48	61	53	62	60	55

Source : Céreq-Insee. FC 2000 Survey.

*GSC : Government-sponsored contracts and training ; IPT : Induced part-time permanent contract ; FTC : Fixed-term contracts.